2: Wilson E-S (1934-1938)1957 F?617 ?Igonde F?617
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house. Then she goes in and steals a piece of firewood from the left[1] and runs off with it, laughing. The officiant pursues her and makes her drop it and gives her medicine, while the company cry: 'A thief, a thief!' She takes the firewood back to her husband's house. 'It is a sign that she has entered her father's house, just as the spear is a sign that she has entered the house of another husband.' In rich families the new husband sends a bull which is killed and eaten at the ritual.

Our informants were agreed that 'there is no fear of the gaping cough if a woman runs away from her husband and goes to a lover', and in practice no ritual is performed when she visits her father after divorce and re-marriage, but it is perhaps significant that such a situation could scarcely have arisen in the past, since divorce by agreement rarely, if ever, occurred. An adulterer fled, if he could, with his lover to another chiefdom, breaking off all relations with her kin.

(*b*) *The overt purpose and symbolism*

Now we turn to the Kukwe interpretation of events. Our two principal informants here were Mwasalemba, an elderly pagan man, brother to the chief Perekem, whose wife, Syungu, acted as officiant at rituals in the chief's family, and Kakuse, a young doctor who had learnt the medicines from his mother. Mwasalemba was much more coherent than Syungu herself, and his interpretation was confirmed by Kakuse and numerous other informants. Again I give the interpretation of the two principal informants without any editing other than placing consecutively statements made on different occasions.

i. *Mwasalemba's interpretation.* (Recorded by G. W. and translated by him soon afterwards.)

MWASALEMBA: Perhaps a youth, perhaps a girl, runs mad; he runs about naked so that we say: 'He's mad, why doesn't he cover himself?' He goes to the place of defaecation and takes filth and eats it: he goes into people's houses and takes things, he might even take some things from you, from a European, without fear; he knows not what he does. Sometimes, after a visit to a doctor, he recovers altogether and never has the fit again—that is the lesser kind of madness. But sometimes he recovers and then the fit takes him again later—that is the more serious

[1] The loft (*ifijulo*) consists of horizontal beams running at wall level across a portion of the hut. Here every married woman keeps a supply of dry firewood. It is her private store-place which may not be touched without her permission.

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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583 There are a few heathen women who do not wish their husbands to take other wives, but many who urge them to do so. Another wife is like a servant in the house, and the position of the principal wife (who is not necessarily the first) is improved when her husband adds to the number of her more or less obedient juniors. Formally they are her sisters; in reality they are her servants, and must always answer her demands with the polite response "ee." The husband also gains in importance as he acquires one wife after another. When the children are grown up, they are dispersed to various villages, and the father is always "feared" in such places, because he has sons or daughters who will see to it that he is properly honoured when he pays them a visit.

553 585 Husband and wife take new names at marriage; but they are for private use only, the old names being used by their friends. The new names, which are given in the presence of witnesses, indicate that the old life is past, and that new duties and privileges now bind the couple to each other.

593 422 The position of the wife is guarded in many ways. Her father and brothers are always ready to take up her quarrel, even to the extent of fighting her husband if need be. She owns property, but she retains it [586] only so long as she is a wife: divorce separates her from husband and children, and also from all the household goods of which she is otherwise mistress. The husband hoes the garden, but the produce belongs to the wife; he may not take anything without her consent, even to feed his friends. If one wife

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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refuses point blank to feed his visitors, he appeals to another; but it will be obvious that continued churlishness on the part of a wife would lead to trouble. Bananas, rice, and malesi belong to the husband; bananas, because he alone attends to them; rice, because it came from the Europeans; and malesi, because from this cereal beer is made, and the husband is lord of the beer pot once the beer is brewed. Fowls belong to the wife, but though the profits of sale are hers, she usually lays them out in small household necessities, such as salt. She often gets a cow from her father, and her husband may make her a similar gift; and he must not use the milk without her consent, though if it is sold, the money is laid by to pay the tax. All household utensils are hers, except the small dish from which her husband eats; but she leaves everything behind should she be divorced, except the cow she received from her father.

If a wife dies while still capable of child-bearing, her father must give another daughter to the widower; or, if he has none, a cow, dressed with flowers, is sent with an apology, and a promise that as soon as possible the dowry cattle will be returned. If the father hopes that another daughter may yet be born to him, an arrangement may be come to by which she will go to the widower. Widows become the "family" of the heir. They wear anklets of cow-skin, and let their hair grow, mixing it with clay. These signs of mourning they wear for about a year. Girls wear similar tokens of mourning if either parent is dead, but not boys.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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231 and will follow the caller wherever he goes. They come to be milked morning and evening, and no cow moves until her name is called. The greatest insult that can be offered to a man is to sprinkle milk on the road behind him as he passes, suggesting, "You are too incompetent to provide yourself and your family with milk to drink; I can spare some to mock you with." And each man is jealous of the quality of his herd. A year or two ago, a wedding party went to [579] pay over a cow to the bride's father. It was not a high-class animal: a bystander threw a taunt, and in the fight which followed, two men were killed, and a number wounded.

●422 The man is the owner of the cattle as a rule. It is rare for the wife to own any; but sometimes a father will make his daughter a present of a cow, which becomes hers absolutely, to pass, with its increase, to her son at her death or his marriage. The husband also may set a cow apart for his wife, but it returns to him in case of divorce.

231 857 During the day the cattle are herded by the village boys, each family sending one or two in turn to the work. They have a thoroughly good time, though for the smaller boys it is rather a testing time of moral and muscle, for they have a severe apprentice-234 ship to serve. Cows are milked by the owner usually twice a day. No one ever salutes a man while so engaged; if the milk stops, he will be accused of witchcraft. A visitor arriving at milking time will sit down and wait, neither he nor his host taking any notice of each other until the cow that is being milked

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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killed by rinderpest should not be eaten, but the injunction was disregarded, with fatal results, and again the fatalistic attitude in the presence of the all-powerful white man revealed itself: "If we die, that is the white man's affair. They wish to kill us." It is useless to point to the recent increase of cattle in the district. The reply always is that the deterioration in quality, which began with the coming of the white man, and has continued ever since, more than balances the increase in numbers.

In comparison with cattle, other animals are of small importance. Sheep and goats are reared in small numbers, and belong to the man, very much as cattle do. Fowls belong to any member of the family, and each owns what he sells them for. There are many breeds of dogs, formerly used for hunting, but now mostly as watchdogs, in view of the prevalence of thieving. Dogs are as a rule treated with neglect, and pick up a living as best they can from the garbage around the doors. With a few exceptions they are cowardly brutes, possibly a natural result of their vile treatment. Occasionally one will come upon a man who has well-fed, well-cared-for dogs, and is very proud of their intelligence and courage, either in keeping off thieves or in tending cattle. The story of the two dogs which were shown the limits within which their master's cattle might feed, and kept them strictly within bounds, is not, perhaps, without parallel in other lands.

There is a very remarkable tradition that in the old days of war, and especially during the Angoni raids,